

## Message Text

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42

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

USIE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SAM-01

OMB-01 EB-11 CU-04 STR-08 SCI-06 EPA-04 CEQ-02 ACDA-19

NIC-01 DRC-01 /168 W

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O R 041050Z MAY 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5552

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 0133

XMT ZEN/ALGIERS

ZEN AMEMBASSY CAIRO

ALEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2806

VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL MBFR

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE: PHASE II HIGHLIGHTS - APRIL 29 -

MAY 3

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SUMMARY CSCE MARKED TIME THIS WEEK AS SOVIETS REFUSED

TO ALLOW ANY PROGRESS ON BASKET III (HUMANITARIAN CO-OPERATION) SPECIFICS, AND WESTERN AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES RESPONDED IN KIND. END SUMMARY.

1. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- WEEK ENDED WITH PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY STILL UNDER DISCUSSION. FRG CONTINUED TO HOLD UP DRAFTING IN SEARCH FOR LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD NOT IMPLY BAR TO RE-UNIFICATION. SOVIETS ARE ATTEMPTING TO ACCELERATE DRAFTING THROUGH MORE MEETINGS AND INFORMAL PARRALLEL WORK ON PRINCIPLE WHICH WILL BE DISCUSSED NEXT. IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION, SOVIETS FIRMLY OPPOSED ROMANIAN PROPOSAL TO EXCLUDE ENTRY OR STATIONING OF FOREIGN TROOPS WITHOUT PERMISSION OF HOST COUNTRIES. SOVIETS ALSO OPPOSED OTHER ROMANIAN PROPOSALS WHICH DUPLICATE LANGUAGE ALREADY REGISTERED UNDER PRINCIPLE OF NON-USE OF FORCE. IN COMMITTEE I, YUGOSLAV-GREEK DEADLOCK ON HOW TO TREAT NATIONAL MINORITIES CONTINUED.

2. MILITARY SECURITY -- SUBCOMMITTEE CONCENTRATED ON PARA 24 OF HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS, INCLUDING ROMANIAN PROPOSAL, AND ON PREAMBLE. ROMANIAN PROPOSAL ON DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT WAS PUT ASIDE FOR LATER DISCUSSION DESPITE ALLIED VIEW THAT IT WAS UNACCEPTABLE. ROMANIANS ARE PERSITTING IN HAVING DISCUSSION IN HOPE THAT SOME PARTS OF THEIR PAPER CAN BE REGISTERED; ALLIES HAVE AGREED TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO AVOID THIS. WORK ON PREAMBLE MOVED MORE RAPIDLY WITH SOME SUCCESS IN COMBINING UK AND NEUTRAL PROPOSALS. MAIN POINTS OF CONTENTION WERE EXCLUSION OF MOVEMENTS, WHICH SOVIETS BRACKETED, YUGOSLAV DESIRE FOR INCLUSION OF LANGUAGE ON NON-USE OR THREAT OF FORCE, AND NEUTRAL DESIRE TO RETAIN REFERENCE TO THE REALITIES OF MILITARY CAPABILITIES AMONG PARTICIPANTS. SOVIETS RENEWED THEIR RESERVE ON ANY DETAILED PREAMBLE AND MAINTAINED THAT THE FORM OF CSCE DOCUMENTS WOULD HAVE TO BE DECIDED BEFORE THEIR FINAL JUDGMENT ON CBM PREAMBLE COULD BE MADE.

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3. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY, ENVIRONMENT -- FULL COMMITTEE HELD INCONCLUSIVE DEBATE ON PREAMBULAR CLAUSE ON COOPERATION ON THE BASIS OF "RECIPROCITY OF ADVANTAGES AND OBLIGATIONS", WITH LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES INSISTING ON SIMULTANEOUS ACCEPTANCE OF CLAUSE ON INTERESTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. COMMERCIAL SUBCOMMITTEE REACHED PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT ON PARAGRAPHS ON IMPROVED INFORMATION, EXCEPT FOR

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS AND COMPARABILITY OF FOREIGN TRADE STATISTICS, WHICH WILL BE DISCUSSED FURTHER. INDUSTRIAL SUBCOMMITTEE NEAR AGREEMENT ON FIRST PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH OF RESOLUTION ON PROJECTS OF COMMON INTEREST. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE BEGAN CONSIDERATION OF "FORMS AND METHODS OF COOPERATION". ENVIRONMENTAL SUBCOMMITTEE MADE SLOW PROGRESS AND SHOULD COMPLETE BASIC DRAFTING WORK IN NEXT FOUR OR FIVE MEETINGS.

4. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- FULL COMMITTEE REPEATED LAST WEEK'S SCENARIO ON THE PREAMBLE; NO POSITIONS HAVE CHANGED, AND NOTHING HAS YET BEEN DRAFTED. SOVIET RECALCITRANCE ON BASKET III SPECIFICS SINCE THE EASTER RECESS HAS CAUSED WESTERN AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES TO STIFFEN THEIR RESISTENCE TO ANY PROGRESS ON THE PREAMBLE, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING. IN HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEES ENERGETIC EFFORTS IN FORMAL AND INFORMAL MEETINGS SOLVED ONLY A FEW MINOR PROBLEMS. THE SOVIETS WERE TALKING POSITIVELY BUT SHOWING NO IMPORTANT NEW POSITIONS AND REFLECTING NO SENSE OF URGENCY. SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE AGREED ON MODIFIED VERSION OF YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL CONCERNING CULTURAL ASSISTANCE TO MIGRANT WORKERS. THEREAFTER, WORK STALLED AS SOVIETS BLUNTLY REJECTED ENTIRE TEXT OF DETAILED FRENCH PROPOSAL ON ACCESS TO ACHIEVEMENTS IN FIELDS OF LITERATURE AND THE ARTS, INCLUDING PROVISION FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF LIBRARIES AND READING ROOMS. SOVIET COUNTER-PROPOSAL, IN TURN, WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO WEST. SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION MADE LIMITED PROGRESS ON EXPANDED EFFORTS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES.

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5. FOLLOW-UP -- DANES TABLES EC-NINE PROPOSAL FOR FOLLOW-UP BASED ON AN INTERIM PERIOD FOLLOWED BY A MEETING OF HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS IN 1977 TO REVIEW THE RESULTS OF CSCE. THE DANISH PROPOSAL DREW PREDICTABLY MIXED COMMENTS, WITH WESTERN DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING US, SUPPORTING IT, AND EASTERN AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES CRITICAL.

6. COMMENT: ALL EFFORTS TO ADVANCE THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE WERE IN VAIN THIS WEEK, AS THE SOVIETS REFUSED EVEN THAT MOST MODEST PROGRESS ON BASKET III SPECIFICS. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES WERE DEEPLY PESSIMISTIC IN THE LIGHT OF THIS SOVIET TACTIC, WHICH SEEMED MORE STUBBORN THAN EVER BEFORE, AND MANY EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT AN EARLY CONCLUSION TO CSCE

SIMPLY WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE UNLESS THE SOVIETS YIELD-  
ED DRAMATICALLY IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. ALTHOUGH  
SOME WESTERN DELEGATES RECOGNIZED THAT THE SOVIETS  
WOULD ONLY MAKE THEIR KEY CONCESSIONS IN THE FINAL  
DAYS OF PHASE II, MANY CONCLUDED THAT AL LAST-MINUTE  
BREAKTHROUGH WOULD BE TOO LATE TO SWAY WESTERN  
PUBLIC AND POLITICAL OPINION, AND THAT THE CONFERENCE  
RESULTS WOULD THEN BE SEEN AS MEDIOCRE AT BEST, WITH  
THE CONSEQUENT IMPLICATIONS FOR PHASE III AND DETENTE  
IN GENERAL. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS HAD  
HIGH HOPES THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER WOULD CONVEY THIS  
MESSAGE TO SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO DURING  
THEIR GENEVA MEETING, AND THAT THIS MIGHT PRODUCE THE  
NEEDED BREADTHROUGH, BUT SOVIET BEHAVIOR SINCE THEN  
HAS SHOWN NO CHANGE. END COMMENT.

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## Message Attributes

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